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Gregory Perkins

Boston Redevelopment Authority
Research Department

April 1985

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CONDITIONS

For the past fifty years, the Roxbury area, including Dudley Square, has been an inner-city neighborhood in general economic decline. Once a thriving residential, commercial, and industrial neighborhood center of Boston, Roxbury's economic strength has been drained and social conditions have been strained. Population loss, unemployment, lower incomes, greater poverty, increased groups with special needs, crime, property disinvestment, and an eroding economic base are some of the primary problems that Roxbury has experienced. During the last twenty years some progress has been made in the areas of housing improvement, education and training, industrial development, and tax reform through the dedicated efforts of government, local businessmen, community leaders, and residents themselves. Today Roxbury is at the crossroads. Even though recent signs are beginning to point to a brighter future, an analysis of the economic, social, and housing conditions of Roxbury reveals the issues that have to be addressed.

A study of the Roxbury neighborhoods surrounding Dudley Square shows that this minority community is comprised of larger families than the city as a whole, with many younger people and female-headed households with children. The area has a high rate of unemployment, and many workers remain in low and semi-skilled occupations and industries. Incomes are lower and poverty is more prevalent than in other Boston neighborhoods. Many people rely on public transportation to commute to work. Crime and health conditions continue to be major problems. The housing stock is dominated by publicly assisted rental units, some in poor condition, and is comprised of many boarded and abandoned buildings. There are also significant financial problems with residential and commercial property. Also, Roxbury lost its industrial job base and has experienced a decline in commercial business.

Despite these problems there are signs that some conditions have improved in the last ten years. Improvements in educational attainment, housing conditions, population loss, and new industries have occurred since the 1960s. The future economic potential of Roxbury is bright given its excellent location, proximity to the burgeoning downtown economy, available labor force,

rising property values, property tax reform, increasing investment, and active community involvement. Gains have been made, but the need for much greater social and economic development exists.

A brief review of conditions shows that the primary social and economic problems of Roxbury are unemployment, job skills and education, low incomes, crime, poor quality housing, and a declining commercial and industrial base. A significant rise in private investment stimulated by targeted public policy can address these specific social, economic, and housing conditions to provide a better future for Roxbury residents.

This analysis of social and economic conditions in Roxbury highlights the major features of the neighborhoods and some of the problems of that need to be addressed. Most of the data referred to in the text covers 1980 Census information and other sources for the "Roxbury Study Area" of 13 census tracts from Massachusetts Avenue to Seaver Street and from the Southwest Corridor to Blue Hill Avenue (see map). In some instances data refers to the Dudley Square area of Lower Roxbury or to the larger Planning District of Greater Roxbury. A complete set of tables with comparative data are provided at the end of this section.

Population Profile

Roxbury is one of the largest minority neighborhoods in the city and in the state. It contains about 20 percent of Boston's total Black population as well as a fast-growing Hispanic community. The neighborhood is comprised of many very young residents and relatively fewer elderly residents. The neighborhood has a greater share of women than Boston as a whole. In addition, over forty percent of Roxbury residents were born outside of Massachusetts or in foreign countries.

- In 1980, the Roxbury population was 33,086. Of the total population 29,274 residents or 89 percent were Black, 1,756 or 5 percent were White, 2,469 or 4 percent were Asian, and the remaining 1,918 were of other races.

- In 1980 there were 2,469 Hispanics in Roxbury which was 7.5 percent to total population. Although this was only slightly more than the city share of 6.4 percent, the Greater Roxbury area of over 57,000 people had 1.3. percent, more than double the city share.

- The median age of Roxbury residents was 27, compared to 29 for the city, 31 for Metropolitan Boston, and 30 for the U.S.

- Roxbury's young people, aged 14 or younger, comprise 27 percent of the total population; the city-wide rate is 17 percent.

- Only 9 percent of Roxbury's total population were elderly which was below the city-wide share of 13 percent, the metropolitan share of 12 percent, and the U.S. share of 11 percent.

- Fifty-six percent of Roxbury residents were females; this is slightly greater than the 53 percent for city residents and the 51 percent mark for the United States.

- Forty-seven percent of all Roxbury residents were born out of Massachusetts or in foreign countries, a greater share than the 42 percent of all city residents and the 30 percent of all Metropolitan area residents as well as the 35 percent share of all U.S. residents born outside of their 1980 state of residence.

Households

Roxbury is one of Boston's most family oriented neighborhoods. There are more households comprised of related people than "non-family" households in the neighborhood. Whereas many of Boston's newer inner-city neighborhoods are primarily comprised of non-family households (single people, roommates, and other non-related people living together) Roxbury retains its family character. Many of Roxbury's families, however, are headed by women, 54 percent of all families are headed by females with no husband present and a full 40 percent of all families are female-headed with young children. Because of the large number of young people average household and family sizes in Roxbury are larger than the city-wide average.

- Sixty-four percent of Roxbury households were families -- related people living as a family unit with or without children. This compares to 53 percent for Boston as a whole, and 68 percent for the metropolitan area.
- Only 36 percent of Roxbury households were "non-families" -- single people, roommates, or other non-related people living together. This compares to 47 percent for Boston as a whole.
- Over half, 54 percent, of all Roxbury families were headed by women compared to a 30 percent city-wide rate a 17 percent metropolitan reate and a 14 percent U.S. rate.
- In addition, 40 percent of all Roxbury families were female-headed with children under 18 years of age compared to 17 percent for the city.
- The average size of Roxbury households was 2.74 persons compared to 2.4 for Boston, 2.69 for the metropolitan area, and 2.74 for the United States.
- The average size of Roxbury families was 3.43 persons compared to 3.30 for Boston, 3.33 for the metropolitan area, and 3.27 for the United States.

Income

Income data show that Roxbury is one of the poorer neighborhoods in Boston. In 1980, Roxbury households earned only 74 percent of the city-wide median income, but because household and family sizes were larger in Roxbury, per capita income was only 69 percent of Boston's rate. As a result, a relatively large number of households in Roxbury require public assistance, in large part, Aid to Families with Dependent Children. However, the smaller gap between the percent of wage earners in Roxbury versus the city compared with the larger income gap shows that Roxbury residents probably have lower-skilled, lower-paying jobs.

- In 1980 Roxbury's median household income was $9,305, only 74 percent of the Boston median of $12,530, and only 50 percent of the metropolitan area median household income.
- The median income for Roxbury families was $10,649, only 66 percent of Boston's $16,062, and 47 percent of the metro median family income.
- Because Roxbury has larger household and family sizes, the per capita income of its residents, $4,515 was only 69 percent of the Boston figure, $6,555.
- The per capita income of the smaller Dudley Square area was $3,541 since this area consists of a sizeable proportion of public housing with many larger families.
- Sixty-eight percent of all Roxbury households had wage and salary earnings, only slightly less than the 75 percent city-wide rate, showing that workers probably have lower paying jobs which makes the income gap greater.
- Thirty-four percent of Roxbury households were on public assistance (excluding subsidized housing), more than double Boston's 15 percent and quite a bit larger than the 9 percent metro and 8 percent U.S. rates.
- Due to the fewer elderly persons, only 21 percent of Roxbury households received social security benefits versus 24 percent city-wide, and 26 percent for both the metropolitan area and the U.S.

Poverty

Because of the large average size of Roxbury households, the lower-paying jobs of many residents, and the fact that many families have one parent incomes are lower and poverty is much more prevalent in Roxbury than for the City or Metropolitan area. Roxbury's 29 percent household poverty rate in 1980 was about 50 percent greater than for Boston as a whole and triple the metropolitan share. Family poverty is even greater because of the preponderance of female-headed households, many of whom mothers cannot work fulltime. Low per capita incomes in Roxbury are compounded by the larger household size. Poverty among the elderly exists at greater than City rates but the problem is moderated by the social security safety net. When calculating the number of persons below 2 times the poverty rate, roughly 60 percent of Roxbury residents can be placed in the low income category.

- Twenty-nine percent of all Roxbury residents had incomes below the official U.S. 1980 poverty level compared to 20 percent of all Bostonians, 9 percent of all metro residents and 12 percent of U.S. residents.
- Twenty-eight percent of Roxbury families and over forty percent of Dudley Square families are below the poverty level compared to 17 percent for all city families and 7 percent of metropolitan area families.
- Nineteen percent of Roxbury's elderly are below the poverty level slightly worse than for all of Boston but better than all Roxbury households because of Social Security.
- Sixty percent of Roxbury residents had low incomes when calculating the share of persons below a level of twice the poverty rate in 1979.

Employment and Unemployment

While 11,300 Roxbury residents are employed, only 54 percent of the working age population is in the labor force, compared to 60 percent for Boston as a whole. In part this can be accounted for by the large number of female-headed households with children and by the large number of discouraged people who have stopped looking for job prospects. Roxbury's estimated 12 percent unemployment rate in 1985 is about 3 times the city-wide average. Of those working Roxbury residents, over half were employed in blue-collar and semi-skilled service occupations with lower pay levels. Fewer worked in professional, managerial, and administrative positions but gains have been made since 1960. Nearly one-half of Roxbury workers were in manufacturing, government, personal and health care service industries. Roxbury also has a particularly bad problem with teenage unemployment.

- In 1980, 11,306 Roxbury residents were employed, while over 1,300 were unemployed. Roxbury has a large pool of underutilized labor.
- Forty-nine percent of Roxbury employees were in white-collar occupations and 51 percent were in blue-collar and service occupations. For Boston, 61 percent of all employees were in white-collar occupations and 39 percent were in blue-collar and service jobs.
- On the positive side, substantial gains were made in the professionalization of Roxbury's workforce since 1960.
- The three industries with the greatest specialization for Roxbury employees were manufacturing, health services, and government.
- Fifty-four percent of Roxbury residents were in the labor force compared to 60 percent for Boston, 64 percent for the metropolitan area and 62 percent for the U.S.
- The 1980 unemployment rate for Roxbury was 10.4 percent at a time when the rate for Boston was 6.1 percent. The rate for Dudley Square was 19 percent.
- Very rough estimates show that Roxbury's unemployment rate may be close to 12 percent in 1985 while the city rate is about 4 percent.
- In 1980 the unemployment rate for teenagers without a High School diploma was 40 percent, showing the problems of a young, inexperienced labor force.
- Over 8 percent of Roxbury's non-elderly adult population reported a disability preventing them from working compared to 5 percent for Boston, 3 percent for the metro area nd 4 percent for the U.S.

Transportation

Roxbury residents rely more on public transportation to commute to work than other Bostonians. Of all Roxbury workers, 46 percent use public transit. This is partly due to the fewer vehicles owned, the availability of transit systems, and the fact that a larger number work in the city rather than the suburbs. However, the average commute to work takes four minutes longer than for the average city-wide worker probably due to the fact that there are fewer jobs available in the Roxbury neighborhood.

- Fifty-seven percent of Roxbury households have no vehicle available versus 43 percent of all Boston households. Only 20 percent of all metropolitan households and 13 percent of all U.S. households have no vehicle available.

- Forty-six percent of Roxbury workers used public transportation compared to 34 percent of Boston workers, 16 percent of metropolitan Boston workers, and 6 percent of all U.S. workers.

- Eighty-one percent of Roxbury workers worked in Boston, while only 19 percent commuted outside the city. This is the highest of any neighborhoods in Boston, except for South Boston. It compares to 75 percent for all city workers who work in the city. About one-third of all metropolitan workers work in the city of Boston.

- The average commuting time to work for Roxbury workers, excluding those who work at home, was 29 minutes compared to 25 minutes for Boston workers, 24 minutes for metropolitan area workers, and 22 minutes for all U.S. workers.

Mobility and Migration

Roxbury residents tend to be a little less mobile than all of Boston residents as a whole. Forty-six percent of residents in the Roxbury Study Area moved into their 1980 housing unit between 1975 and 1980. This contrasts with fifty-five percent for all Boston residents but almost exactly matches the rate for metropolitan area residents. There seem to be two reasons for Roxbury's smaller mobility trend: (1) many Roxbury residents moved into new housing between 1965 and 1975 when new housing was constructed under urban renewal programs, and (2) Roxbury is more of a family neighborhood while other Boston neighborhoods have more transient students and young professionals. Even though, as noted previously, a greater number of Roxbury residents were born out of Massachusetts the mobility patterns show that most must have moved to Roxbury prior to 1975 since they do not show in the out-of-state migration numbers for 1975. The 4.7 percent share of residents in Greater Roxbury that lived abroad in 1975 is above the 4 percent rate for Boston reflecting the immigration of small ethnic groups such as Hispanics, Cape Verdeans, and Haitians that live in the area. Boston's percentage of foreign immigrants is twice the rate for the metropolitan area showing Boston's role as a new location for new migrants to the United States.

- Forty-six percent of Roxbury residents moved into their 1980 housing unit in the previous five years compared to 55 percent for all of Boston, 46 percent for the metro area, and 51 percent for the nation's residents.
- Three percent of Roxbury residents and 5 percent of Greater Roxbury residents live abroad in 1975 compare to 2 percent of all metropolitan area residents and 2 percent of all U.S. residents.
- Only 3.5 percent of Roxbury residents lived outside of Massachusetts in 1975 compared with 11 percent of City residents and 10 percent of metropolitan area residents.

Health and Education

Conditions of health and educational attainment reveal that Roxbury residents have made some substantial gains over the last thirty years but continue to lag behind other Bostonians. Roxbury's very high birth rate is in large part due to unmarried teenage mothers. Twice as many Roxbury babies die as infants and many more low-weight babies are born in Roxbury than in Boston as a whole. Violence and accidents claim the lives of many young people in the neighborhood. The overall death rate is lower for Roxbury because of the fewer numbers of elderly presidents. Some setbacks in health statistics in recent years are due to cutbacks in Federal medicaid and nutritional programs.

Since 1950, a great proportion of Roxbury adults have obtained a high school education, yet attainment still trails the city and metropolitan rates. The deficiency in college education between Roxbury and Boston residents is more striking. Education, the key to better jobs and higher incomes, is just barely keeping pace with rapidly rising skills needs for modern business.

- The birth rate in Roxbury for 1981-82 was 21 per 1,000 residents which was much larger than the 14.5 mark for Boston and the 12.5 mark for the metropolitan area; it was also larger that the 16 per 1,000 for the U.S.
- Teenagers accounted for 26 percent of all Roxbury births compared to 17 percent of Boston births and 16 percent of U.S. births.
- Many low-weight babies are born in Roxbury probably due to poor pre-natal care, improper-maternal nutrition, and teenage mothers.
- The infant mortality rate in Roxbury at 20.5 per 1,000 births was 50 percent greater than the citywide rate.
- Five solid waste transfer stations operate illegally or improperly near the Dudley Square area of Roxbury.
- Fifty-seven percent of Roxbury's adults were high school graduates in 1980 compared with 68 percent of Boston's adults, 77.2 percent for metropolitan Boston, and 67 percent for the U.S.
- Nine percent of Roxbury adults have at least a 4 year college degree compared with 20 percent of Boston's adults, 25 percent of the metropolitan area's adults, and 16 percent of all American adults.
- Due to the large numbers of young people in Roxbury about one-third of all residents are in school-from grade school through college.

Crime

Crime data (on Part One major crimes) for District 2 (Roxbury/Mission Hill) in 1984 show a 4.5 percent decline over figures for 1978. Although property crimes were down 12 percent over this period, violent crimes were up about 15 percent.

Crime in Greater Roxbury (Police District 2) during 1984 was only slightly above city-wide averages at 117.7 per 1000 persons compared to 112.9. The incidence of property crime in Roxbury is somewhat smaller than in Boston as a whole. Violent crimes, however, are committed at about double the rate for Boston. In Boston 27 percent of all violent crimes are committed in the Roxbury Police District which contains only 13 percent of Boston's population. This contrasts with the 12 percent share of all City property crime that is committed in Roxbury.

According to 1981 Census Bureau statistics, the Boston crime rate was topped only by New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Philadelphia, Detroit, Dallas, and Phoenix. The Boston Police Department reported, however, that in 1984 crime in Boston was down 5.6 percent from 1983 and that crime in District 2 was down 7.5 percent.

- For 1984, city crimes were down 5.6% from 1983.
- For 1984, District 2 crimes were down 7.5% from 1983. Personal crimes were down 8.3.%, while property crimes were down 7.2%.
- District 2 had 13 percent of the city population in 1984; 28 percent of personal crimes and 12 percent of property crimes.
- Violent crimes, where Roxbury has a problem, comprise aggravated assault, robbery, rape, and manslaughter. Property crimes, less of a problem, include burglary, larceny, and auto theft.
- Over the period 1976 to 1983 total crime increased 6.7 percent in the U.S. while declining 11.6 percent in Boston and 8.5 percent in the Roxbury/Mission Hill Police District.
- No analysis was made of Part Two crimes which include drunken driving, drug abuse, disorderly conduct, vandalism, illegal weapons possession, fraud, and all other offenses.

Housing Stock

Housing characteristics of Roxbury show that residents live primarily in multi-family rental housing rather than in their own homes and that they occupy houses of generally lower value and poorer condition. Only 13 percent of Roxbury residents owned their homes, a rate less than half the citywide norm. In the Dudley Square area, the home ownership rate is only 4 percent. Although family sizes in Roxbury are greater than City averages housing units sizes are average and therefore there are more persons per unit and greater problems with overcrowding. While 11.6 percent of Roxbury housing was vacant there were over 330 uninhabitable boarded housing units and the vacancy rate for apartments (less than 2 months) was only 28 percent. The housing stock in Roxbury is somewhat newer than that for the City because of the more recent construction of publicly assisted housing and vast demolition of many older structures between 1960 and 1980.

- In 1980, 13 percent of Roxbury's housing units were owner-occupied and 87 percent were rental units. Dudley's home ownership was only 4 percent. This compares with 27 percent owner-occupied and 73 percent rental, citywide.
- In 1980, 10 percent of Roxbury's housing units were vacant, while 2 percent were boarded.
- The vacancy rate for quality rental housing (units vacant less than 2 months) according to the U.S. Census was only 2.8 percent for Roxbury units.
- Roxbury housing averaged over 2.3 persons per occupied unit compared to less than 2 persons Citywide. Overcrowding was about a 50% greater problem in Roxbury.
- Roxbury contained over 330 boarded housing units in 1980.
- 46 percent of Roxbury's housing was built before 1940 compared to 63 percent of all structures in the City.
- More housing in Roxbury is multi-family than for Boston as a while.

Housing Finances

Data on financial characteristics of housing in Roxbury are neither too readily available nor very reliable. What data exists shows that Roxbury housing is somewhat less costly for other neighborhoods but certainly not very inexpensive given the poorer quality of housing and lower property values. Forty-eight percent of all housing units in Roxbury were either public housing or publicly-assisted in 1980 versus twenty percent of all Boston housing units.

Median gross rent data from the 1980 Census shows that the average rental unit in Roxbury cost $179 compared to $251 for the average Boston unit and $282 for metropolitan area rental units. This data however only reflects "cash rent" and does not include public subsidies which would likely make Roxbury rents close to par with City rents as a whole. A study of rents asked for apartments listed in the "Boston Globe" in 1984 showed Roxbury rents to be $362 per unit compared to $528 per unit city-wide, about a 70 percent share. Given lower incomes of Roxbury residents the percent of income going for rent is almost exactly the same as for Boston as a whole.

From the 1980 Census the median value of owner occupied hosing in Roxbury was about sixty percent of the median Boston owner occupied units. However, because of more rent financing and lower down payments the median monthly mortgage cost was about the same as for Boston as a while. One final point, even though proposition 2½, revaluation, and classification greatly reduced Roxbury property taxes, past tax liens and foreclosures account for about 25 percent of Roxbury property compared to 13 percent citywide.

- The median value of owner-occupied housing units in Roxbury was only 61 percent of the median value for Boston as a whole.
- Roxbury has a high concentration of publicly assisted (including Section 8) housing -- 48 percent of all units and 73 percent of all rental units compared to only 20 percent of all units in the City of Boston.
- Rents for Roxbury rental units were lower than the citywide average but assumed a larger share of residents' income.
- 47.8 percent of all Roxbury housing is public housing or publicly assisted compared with about 20 percent citywide.

- Roxbury monthly rental rates are about 70 percent of citywide rates but since Roxbury incomes are also about 70 percent of city incomes the percentage of income for housing is about equal.

- Median owner-occupied housing values in 1980 were e$21,845 for Roxbury, $36,000 for Boston, and $56,000 for the metropolitan area.

- Bout 25 percent of Roxbury property is tax delinquent or foreclosed compared to 13 percent citywide.

Abandonment and Disinvestment

Over the last thirty years, property in Roxbury experienced significant disinvestment and deterioration. A combination of high property taxes and low property values reinforced this cycle of property decline and negative investment attitudes. Abandonment, foreclosure and deterioration were self-reinforcing causes. The 1980s has ushered in a time of improved financial conditions, yet a large amount of vacant land, foreclosed property, and abandoned buildings still exist as hindrances to development.

- Between 1944 and 1975 the number of taxable parcels in 4 Roxbury wards was reduced by nearly half, representing nearly half of the city's taxable parcel loss over this period.
- Vacant land, excluding public open space, comprises 32 percent of Roxbury's total land area.
- In the eleven precincts surrounding Dudley Square half of the land area, representing 64 percent of the assessed value, is tax-exempt.
- Of all taxable properties, 469 parcels or 14 percent have been tax foreclosed and about another one-third is currently tax delinquent.
- In 1981, 60 percent of the 500,000 square feet of potential office space in the Dudley Square area was vacant.
- In Roxbury between 1955 and 1974 residential property, when adjusted for inflation, suffered an 11 percent loss in value compared to a 29 percent gain citywide.
- Since 1975, property values in Roxbury have grown faster than the city average. Roxbury single family home prices grew 205 percent from 1975 through 1984 compared to a 155 percent gain citywide.
- Between fiscal years 1981 and 1984, equalization and Proposition 2½ cut total Roxbury taxes by 49 percent, meaning a $586 tax cut for the average Roxbury home owner. Over the same time period the city average tax reduction was 36 percent.

Roxbury Economic Base

Over the last fifty years Roxbury has lost much of its economic base--jobs, industry, and business activity. Although not much historical data exists, Roxbury has probably lost at least half of the economic base it once had. Greater Roxbury from Mission Hill through Grove Hall had 9,240 jobs in 1981 while just the Roxbury Study Area (zip code 02119) had 5,903 jobs. Health, business, social, and personal services together with retail trade and government were the industries of specialization. The largest manufacturing industries were electrical machinery, metals, rubber and plastics machinery, and apparel. Roxbury's manufacturing employment alone declined by nearly 400 jobs from 1977 through 1983. Outside of downtown and its surrounding neighborhoods Dudley Square is the largest neighborhood office market in the city with 500,000 square feet, although 60 percent was vacant in 1981. Government, social services and small professional services used most of the office space. Roxbury contained about 200,000 square feet of retail space in 1981 when sales were estimated to be about $30 million. Dudley Square's retail district has undergone a steady decline in the long run; some stores are healthy but the area lacks such vital stores as a major supermarket and pharmacy.

- In 1981 Greater Roxbury had 396 business and 9,240 jobs while the Roxbury Study Area had 321 businesses and 5,903 of those jobs.
- In 1983 the Roxbury Study Area had 44 manufacturing firms and 1,202 jobs, losing 380 jobs since 1978.
- Dudley Square with 500,000 square feet of office space in 1981 was the largest neighborhood office market in Boston but 60 percent of the space was vacant.
- Roxbury had about 89 retail businesses with 715 employees and 40 personal service establishments with 700 employees in 1980.

Private Investment

Private investment is a vital stimulus to the economic well-being of any residential and commercial neighborhood. Nevertheless, over the last decade more public than private investment has occurred in the Roxbury neighborhood. The $67 million of private investment in Roxbury from 1975 to 1983 has been primarily aimed at residential and institutional uses, with generally smaller industrial and commercial developments. The trend toward housing and industry largely reflects where current interests were focused and where publicly-assisted programs serve as stimuli. Private investment over the last ten years has been relatively small and unplanned.

- From 1974 through 1982 the private to public investment ratios for Boston was 3 to 1, but only 1 to 3 for Roxbury.
- From 1975 through 1983, there has been 6 million dollars of private investment in Roxbury, 38 million dollars for housing, 16 million dollars for schools, 9 million dollars for industries and 4 million dollars for office and retail building.
- Future private investment can serve as a very useful tool for economic development, jobs, and increased business in Dudley Square.

Conclusions

The Roxbury neighborhood reflects a variety of social, economic, and housing problems. While unemployment, poverty, and disinvestment remain the primary problems to be solved, some improvements have occurred in the last 10 years: specifically, educational attainment, stabilization of crime, advances in professional occupations, and the selected upgrading of the housing stock. Over the last ten years Boston's economy as a whole has begun to expand into new vistas of post-industrial America -- professional, business, medical, and educational services, finances, real estate, insurance, communications, and high-technology industries. The Roxbury community, however, has not yet shared in this new economic future to any extent. The challenge this report addresses is how to bring the prosperity of Boston's economy to Roxbury.

GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES FOR ROXBURY AREA DATA

COMPARTIVE HOUSING DATA FROM 1980 CENSUS

HOUSING (1980)	Dudley	Roxbury Study Area	Greater Roxbury	Boston City	Boston Metro	United Sta
Total Units (Year Round)	1,884	13,957	23,178	241,304	1,037,930	86,692,
% Owner Occupied	4.1%	12.9%	30.0%	27.2%	53.2%	64
% Renter Occupied	95.9%	87.1%	70.0%	72.8%	46.8%	35
Vacancy Rate (Adjusted)	12.3%	11.6%	9.9%	7.4%	4.2%	7
Median Rooms Per Unit	4.1	4.4	4.6	4.4	5.2	
Median Persons Per Occupied Unit	2.68	2.30	2.41	1.96	2.29	2
% Overcrowded (1 per room)	12.5%	8.4%	9.5%	5.7%	2.7%	4
Number of Boarded Units Low	NA	334	NA	2,462	3,273	175,
Number of Boarded Units High	125	679	915	5,030	NA	
Percent all Units Without Exclusive Use of Plumbing	3.3%	4.1%	4.3%	2.3%	1.6%	2
% Units Built Before 1940	23.5%	46.4%	54.9%	62.9%	50.6%	25
% Units by Units per Bldg.						
One Unit	11.3%	13.8%	9.6%	15.7%	46.4%	71
2, 3, 4	9.2%	37.6%	55.1%	41.5%	28.6%	11
5 or more	79.5%	48.6%	35.3%	42.8%	25.0%	17
Median Gross Rent (Cash without Subsidy)	$ 94	$ 179	$ 194	$ 251	$ 282	$
Median Value of Owner-Occupied Units	$16,900	$21,845	$20,606	$ 36,000	$ 56,000	$ 47,
Median Monthly Mortgage Payment	X	$ 406	$ 423	$ 407	$ 469	$
% Publicly Assisted Units	81.2%	47.8%	30.0%(E)	20.0%(E)	NA	
% Tax Delinquent or Foreclosed Housing	N!	25.0%(E)	NA	13%(E)	NA	

X = Data Suppressed or Number to Samll (or from too small a sample) to be meaningful.
NA = Not Available
E = Estimated

DUD6/B/040585/6

COMPARTIVE DEMOGRAPHIC DATA FROM 1980 CENSUS

	Dudley	Roxbury Study Area	Greater Roxbury	Boston City	Boston Metro	United Stat
POPULATION	4,494	33,086	57,751	562,994	2,763,357	226,454,8
Race						
% White	5.8%	5.3%	10.1%	70.0%	91.2%	83.
% Black	84.7%	88.5%	77.8%	22.4%	5.8%	11.
% Asian	.4%	.4%	.3%	2.7%	1.3%	1.
% Other Races	9.1%	5.8%	11.8%	4.9%	1.6%	3.
Hispanic Origin						
% Hispanic	10.1%	7.5%	13.3%	6.4%	2.4%	6.
Age (Median Years)	20.9	26.9	26.0	28.9	31.2	30.
% Youth (0-14)	34.1%	26.5%	27.5%	17.0%	18.9%	22.
% Elderly (65+)	5.9%	8.9%	8.5%	12.7%	12.1%	11.
Sex						
% Male	41.9%	43.9%	45.0%	47.2%	47.4%	48.
% Female	59.1%	56.1%	55.0%	52.8%	52.6%	51.
Nativity						
% Foreign Born	9.5%	8.1%	12.4%	15.5%	10.1%	6.
% Out of State	39.4%	38.9%	36.8%	26.6%	20.1%	29.
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION						
Total Households	1,243	11,964	19,945	218,457	990,660	80,467,4
Persons Per Households	2.99	2.74	2.40	2.40	2.69	2.
% Families	87.9%	63.7%	65.9%	53.3%	67.5%	73.
Persons Per Family	3.58	3.43	3.48	3.30	3.33	3.
% Families, Married Couples	30.1%	39.4%	42.1%	63.0%	78.6%	82.
% Families, Female Headed	68.3%	54.1%	51.2%	30.4%	17.4%	13.
% Families, Female Headed with Children	50.1%	40.3%	41.6%	17.6%	9.1%	8.

COMPARTIVE ECONOMIC DATA FROM 1980 CENSUS

	Dudley	Roxbury Study Area	Greater Roxbury	Boston City	Boston Metro	United Sta
INCOME (1979)						
Median Household	$ 6,401	$ 9,305	$ 9,392	$ 12,530	$ 18,694	$ 16,8
Median Family	$ 7,887	$10,649	$10,773	$ 16,062	$ 22,848	$ 19,9
Per Capita	$ 3,451	$ 4,515	$ 4,322	$ 6,555	$ 8,182	$ 7,2
Income Source (1979)						
% Households, Wage and Salary	57.9%	68.1%	74.8%	75.3%	80.9%	77
% Households, Public Assistance	44.3%	34.0%	35.1%	15.4%	9.0%	8
% Households, Social Security	19.6%	21.1%	22.0%	24.2%	25.8%	25
Poverty (1979)						
% Persons Below Poverty Level	39.6%	29.3%	31.7%	20.2%	9.4%	12
% Families Below Poverty Level	41.4%	27.7%	30.2%	16.7%	7.3%	9
% Persons Lower Income	74.1%	60.4%	59.9%	44.1%	25.3%	33
% Elderly Below Poverty Level	28.0%	19.0%	18.9%	12.9%	9.1%	14

COMPARTIVE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DATA FROM 1980 CENSUS

	Dudley	Roxbury Study Area	Greater Roxbury	Boston City	Boston Metro	United Sta
EMPLOYMENT						
Resident Employed	1,183	11,306	21,056	256,047	1,336,220	97,639,
Occupational Profile of the Employed	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	1(
Professional, Managerial and Technical	19.9%	21.1%	19.6%	30.5%	33.9%	25
Sales	3.9%	4.6%	4.5%	7.3%	9.6%	10
Clerical	23.0%	23.5%	22.5%	22.8%	20.7%	17
Blue-Collar Craft	4.0%	5.9%	7.0%	7.7%	9.7%	12
Blue-Collar Oper.	15.8%	13.2%	14.8%	9.7%	9.1%	13
Laborers	5.2%	4.4%	4.8%	3.6%	3.6%	4
Service (& PFF)	28.3%	27.2%	26.9%	18.4%	13.4%	15
Labor Force Participation Rate	51.6%	53.5%	53.9%	60.0%	64.1%	62
Unemployment Rate	19.4%	10.4%	10.1%	6.1%	4.5%	6
Percent with Work Disability (prevented from working)	5.4%	8.3%	7.7%	4.8%	3.4%	4
EDUCATION						
% Adults, High School Graduate	52.5%	57.4%	55.3%	68.4%	77.2%	66
% Adults, College Graduate	6.5%	9.0%	8.0%	20.3%	24.7%	16
% Persons in School, 1980	38.2%	32.5%	33.4%	30.8%	29.4%	27

COMPARTIVE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DATA FROM 1980 CENSUS

	Dudley	Roxbury Study Area	Greater Roxbury	Boston City	Boston Metro	United Stat
MIGRATION						
% Lived Aboard in 1975	2.7%	3.2%	4.7%	4.2%	2.1%	1.
% Lived Out-of-State, 1975	3.7%	3.5%	3.9%	11.3%	10.3%	9.
% Moved into 1980 Unit, 1975-1980	45.8%	45.9%	49.0%	55.3%	46.1%	51.
TRANSPORTATION AND JOURNEY-TO-WORK						
% Households with no Vehicle Available	67.3%	57.3%	54.2%	43.4%	20.1%	12.
% Workers Use Public Transportation to Work	49.3%	47.8%	45.9%	33.7%	15.6%	6.
Median Travel Time to Work (Minutes)	28.9	29.2	31.0	25.3	23.5	
% Worked Boston	NA	81.2%	82.1%	74.8%	32.2%	X